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ABSTRACT

An investigation was made to determine whether family environmental factors influence the educational performance of New Zealand children to an extent similar to that found in other countries. School records of all 1970 third-form entrants at two schools in the greater Wellington area were examined, and a questionnaire was administered to all pupils from forms 4, 5, and 6 within the same schools. Results indicated that, as they are in other advanced industrial countries, educational aspirations of secondary school pupils were closely associated with social class. Neither the school system nor the school social climate appeared capable of overcoming this condition. Differences in the achievement of children from different social groups were even more significant than their differences in aspirations. Almost three times more children from homes where parents held professional positions gained three or more School Certificate passes, as compared with children from homes where parents were employed in manual labor. This disparity was not due to a proportionate difference in educational aspirations. Although most of the home background variables investigated were to some degree related to educational performance, few were constant in this relationship. Only parental education and family literacy were found to be independent of social class influences; these factors appeared to have the same effect on pupils' educational performance, regardless of the parents' work situations. (RH)

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

by

MARIJKE ROBINSON

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of this principle will involve the reorientation of the education system.
>
> The Hon. P. Fraser - 1938

The official ideology of education in advanced industrial societies is the development of the potential of the individual, the maximization of his or her talents - whatever these talents may be. The reality of education, however, often turns out to be 'managerial education'.

Thomas Green defines managerial education as 'that system of education in which schools are assessed primarily by the utility of their "product" to other institutions of society.' (Green, 1969, p.233) In managerial education, attention is deflected from the development of individual abilities for the benefit of the person to the utility of specific abilities for the sake of society. Teaching becomes a matter, not of cultivating individual variety, but of producing a variety of particular individuals; the teaching process is one of manipulation rather than development.

The occupations, functions or positions which characterise advanced industrial society require specific kinds of knowledge and technical skills, acquired - or believed to be acquired - in educational institutions. In all but the unskilled occupations, one needs educational credentials, gained

> through examination, by legally sanctioned committees of the profession before one can practice one's art. For many years ... the rags to riches ascent required drive and ruthlessness rather than education and skills. One can still start various kinds of small business ... but the expansion of such enterprises takes vastly different skills than in the past. Within the

> corporation as managerial positions have become professionalised, individuals are rarely promoted from below but are chosen from the outside, with a college degree as the passport. Only in politics, where position may be achieved through the ability to recruit a following or through patronage, is the mobility ladder relatively open to those without formal credentials.
>
> (Bell, 1972, p.30)

The higher the position, the higher the rewards. Higher positions are scarce, and higher educational credentials must be correspondingly scarce. In order to ensure that only a few obtain the higher credentials, education systems are competitive, and place obstacles - such as examinations - in the way. The belief in the need for obstacles is reinforced by the belief that wide divergencies exist in human abilities and the capacity to be educated.

Educational achievement or 'success' has come to be evaluated and assessed in terms of the utility individuals have for society when they have completed their education. Educational credentials are thus testimonials of usefulness, and adjustment to the system, rather than testimonials of the extent to which individuals have maximised their own talents and abilities.

Schools have in this way become institutions whose credentials for past educational performance are a measure of future occupational competence. Society's criterion for status in an industrial age is achievement rather than ascription, but educational achievement has paradoxically become the 'means of assigning status by ascription - a form of meritocracy in which the measure of merit is established by a particular kind of achievement'. (Green, 1969, p.246; his italics)

In advanced industrial societies where social policies have been based on principles of equality and justice for all, the increasing importance of education as a 'defensive necessity' (Bell, 1972, p.34) has logically led to a special emphasis on public education and equality of educational opportunity in government's policies.

Such policies have led to the establishment of vast, highly diversified state school systems, catering for an ever increasing proportion of the population. In many countries education expenditure has doubled or trebled after the Second World War. Special emphasis has been given to the quality and equality of buildings, materials, and equipment. At the same time teachers

are receiving better training and better pay. Pupil-teacher ratios have been reduced; curricula have been improved and expanded. Financial assistance in the form of scholarships has been made available to those who need it.

The results of such policies are undeniable. In many countries the vast majority of young people are profiting from a better and a longer education than most of their parents ever had. This applies especially to young people from lower socio-economic strata. However, although education is no longer a privilege of the elite, but the right of all, it is still only a relative few who receive the fullest benefit of modern education.

Policies aimed at providing equality of educational opportunity have traditionally been based on the view that equality of opportunity is attained when the inputs into education systems are equally distributed: when schools are approximately equal in terms of teachers, materials and facilities, and are equally accessible to all. This 'resource view' (Green, 1971, p.27) of equality of educational opportunity does not deal with the distribution of outputs of education systems.

> Whether persons wish to benefit from the education system, or whether they successfully secure the benefits of the system is a matter left entirely to the individual ... Thus, the fact that certain social groups do not benefit equally from the system has nothing to do with the existence or non-existence of equal opportunity. It has much to do with the choices, abilities and tenacity of the individual.
>
> (Green, 1971, p.27)

In the 1960s the validity of the 'resource view' began to seem doubtful to some social scientists and educationalists. Research carried out in several countries showed that the levelling of inequalities of resource inputs had not led to a levelling of the variance in outputs. (Coleman, et al, 1966, USA: Newsom Report, 1963, Plowden Report, 1967, Great Britain; Husen and Boalt, 1968, Sweden.) More and more surveys indicated that the expansion of education, and the greatly increased expenditure on education was benefiting children from higher socio-economic groups more than those from lower socio-economic groups. Disparities in the educational achievement and participation of children from different social strata and minority groups were persisting, if not increasing.

Findings of these surveys indicate that an individual's social origin is still a better predictor of his or her educational performance than the quality of the education offered, or the existence of equal educational opportunity in the traditional sense. The family-environment individuals grow up in appears to have a greater impact on their intellectual development than the schools they go to. Most notably, the environment of middle-class families appears to be much more advantageous for the acquisition of the knowledge and skills most highly rewarded in education systems than that of lower- or working-class families. Schools seem unable to overcome the handicaps with which lower-class individuals enter the education system, and have even been accused of increasing this handicap.

(Coleman et al., 1966)

As a result of these findings, an increasing number of social scientists and educationalists now argue that the concept of equality of educational opportunity can no longer be confined to equal provisions for equal schooling, and that it must, in fact, be extended to include consideration of equal results. This new, 'radical' (Husen, 1972, pp.26-39) viewpoint relates equality of educational opportunity to equality of achievement. The source of unequal educational opportunity is no longer believed to reside in unequal schools, but in unequally effective schools.

STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM:

The research for the thesis on which this book is based was prompted by the wish to find out if overseas findings about the influence of social class and family environment - many of which applied to countries which have strong historical heritages of class or race divisions - also applied to New Zealand, a country proud of its strong egalitarian principles and policies, and its comparative lack of racial strife.

- Did family environmental factors influence the educational performance of New Zealand children to a similar extent as they have been found to do in other countries?

Some European countries still have a dual secondary school system, in which examinations at the beginning of secondary schooling sort out the 'academic' from the 'general' pupils, and channel these pupils into specialised academic or vocational schools which virtually determine the course of their occupational future before adult choice or ability can play its role.

New Zealand is one of the few countries in the western world in which all secondary schools are 'comprehensive', and whose pupils are not subject to entrance qualifications. The New Zealand government claims that 'in few other countries is there closer approximation of equality of educational opportunity'. (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1979, p.169).

- Is this indeed equality of opportunity in its new sense?

An examination of New Zealand research findings on differential educational achievement bears relatively little fruit. Research in this area has devoted more attention to ethnic differences in educational performance than to class differences. The relatively poor performance of Maori pupils compared to Pakeha pupils is, in general, attributed to ethnic, or cultural differences in attitudes and values concerning 'success' or 'achievement', or to the fact that many Maori children still lack a thorough knowledge of the English language.

There are clear indications, however, that New Zealand children from lower socio-economic groups also reap fewer benefits from the full range of educational institutions - measured by examination passes and attendance rates at the universities - than children from higher socio-economic groups. (Parkyn, 1967). The research of Ausubel (1961) and Lovegrove (1966) also indicates that the educational performance of both Maori and Pakeha children is probably more closely related to social class position than to ethnic origin. Harker (1973) and Vellekoop (1973) have noted relationships between social class factors and the allocation to 'streams' in secondary schools. Few, however, other than Vellekoop (1968, 1971) have attempted to establish relationships between specific family background variables and educational performance. The research designed for this study was intended to throw more light on the influence of family environment on educational performance in a New Zealand setting.

The specific aims of the research were:

- To find out if children from different socio-economic backgrounds had different educational aspirations as well as different educational achievement rates.

- To find out if aspirations and achievement could be related to specific home environment variables which had been found crucially important in research in other countries - such as: parental occupation, parental education, family size, family literacy, and parent-child interaction patterns.

- To find out if the 'social climate' of schools - measured by the socio-economic composition of the student bodies - modified the relationships between family background and educational performance; as research in New Zealand (Vellekoop, 1968, 1971) as well as in America (Coleman et al., 1966, Wilson, 1959) had tentatively suggested.

- Finally, I also wanted to know if there were sex-disparities as well as class-disparities in the educational performance of secondary school children.

PROPOSITIONS:

The following propositions were tested in the research:

1. Children whose fathers have a non-manual occupation tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children whose fathers have a manual occupation.

2. Children whose fathers' educational credentials include U.E. (University Entrance), or equivalent and higher qualifications, tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children whose fathers' educational credentials are less than U.E.

3. Children whose mothers' educational credentials include U.E., or equivalent and higher qualifications, tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children whose mothers' educational credentials are less than U.E.

4. Children whose mothers are in paid employment tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children whose mothers do not have paid employment.

5. Children from families with one to four children tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children from families with five or more children.

6. Children who talk about their school work with their parents tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children who do not talk about their school work with their parents.

7. Children who have been read to as pre-schoolers tend to have higher educational aspirations and to achieve higher educational credentials than children who have not been read to.

8. Children whose families possess a large number of books tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children whose families possess very few or no books.

9. Children who attend schools where the majority of children have fathers with non-manual occupations tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than children who attend schools where the majority of children have fathers with manual occupations.

10. Boys tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational credentials, than girls.

METHODS:

Samples

The research was carried out in two stages, and involved two different samples. During the first stage, I examined the school records of all 1970 third-form entrants at two schools in the greater Wellington area. In the second stage, a questionnaire was administered to all pupils from form 4, 5 and 6 and at the same two schools. This sample included a number of the 1970 entrants, who were then in form 6.

Schools

In order to test the hypothesis that children who attend schools where the majority of pupils come from non-manual homes tend to have higher aspirations, and to achieve higher, than children who attend schools where the majority of pupils come from manual homes, I needed two schools which would offer a strong

contrast in the social class[1] composition of their student bodies. This proved rather difficult, mainly because I also wanted to survey schools attended predominantly by European pupils. I wished to carry out my research in a setting where lower aspirations and a lower achievement could not also be attributed to ethnic differences. The difficulty arose, however, because the schools that were most easily identified as predominantly 'manual' were also schools that were attended by substantial numbers of non-European students.

Over 90 per cent of the pupils at both schools which were eventually selected and approached, called themselves European: School A, 91 per cent, and School B, 95 per cent.

EXAMINATION OF RECORDS

Both schools kept good records, containing information not only about the scholastic careers of individual students, but also about the occupation of parents. Students whose records were incomplete: which did not, for example, supply information as to whether they left school, passed or failed School Certificate, and students who had transferred to another school, were not included in the sample.

'Achievement' was measured by the number of School Certificate passes attained by students. Those who had passed at least three School Certificate subjects were labelled 'high achievers'. The examination of school records established that the scholastic achievement of non-manual students was significantly higher than that of manual students at both schools.

The examination of school records also indicated that the two schools met my requirements concerning the social class composition of their student bodies. At School A, 59.7 per cent of the 288 1970 third form entrants included in the sample were classified as manual[2]; 31.9 per cent were 'non-manual', 8.3 per cent

---

1. For the purposes of this study, 'Social Class' denotes either 'middle class' or 'working class', which terms have been used as synonyms for the non-manual and manual occupational groupings of New Zealand urban society.

2. Students were classified as 'manual' or 'non-manual' on the basis of their fathers' occupations

'unclassifiable'. At School B, 33.9 per cent of the 233 entrants were 'manual'; 60.1 per cent 'non-manual', 6.0 per cent 'inclassifiable'.

Social class differences between the two schools became less marked in higher forms, as a substantial number of children from manual homes 'dropped out' at or soon after their fifteenth birthday.

CRITERION FOR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION:

Throughout the research the criterion used in classifying the occupations of pupils' fathers as manual or non-manual was simple in principle - whether a person worked with his hands or his head - but rather more difficult in practice. As Runciman says:

> There are two reasons why no definition of the manual/non-manual distinction can ever be entirely satisfactory. First, whatever definition is used, there are bound to be some borderline cases; and second, even a moderately clear-cut line can only be drawn by emphasising class or status at the expense of the other.
>
> (Runciman, 1972, p.372)

Many of the borderline cases in this study centred around the distinction between a self-employed person, an employer, or an employee. Consider, for example, the following three kinds of plumbers:

1. Plumber.
2. Plumber - self-employed.
3. Plumber - runs his own company/business.

Basically, all three men are involved in manual work, but:

> There is an evident different in the class-situation of a plumber who is in business for himself and one who is employed by an enterprise in which he has no share. But many non-manual workers are employees in a capacity which is neither executive nor supervisory; there are many kinds of supervisory positions within the grades of manual work; and the category of self-employed includes so many jobs which fit the literal criterion of 'manual' that it becomes somewhat implausible to assign every self-employed person to the same stratum. No single

> characteristic of different occupations can furnish the necessary or sufficient condition for membership of the 'manual' or 'non-manual' stratum ... All that can be done is to adopt a classification which is bound at some points to be arbitrary and to retain it as consistently as possible.
>
> (Runciman, 1972, pp.372/3)

My own arbitrary decision (guided by Elley and Irving (1972) where appropriate) in situations as those involving the plumbers, was to assign plumbers 1 and 2 to the manual category, and plumber 3 to the non-manual one. In the same vein, garage mechanics were assigned to the manual, and garage proprietors to the non-manual category.

The question aimed at gaining information about the pupils' fathers' occupations asked the pupils specifically not to merely state their general titles such as 'engineer' or 'public servant'. Most of the students complied with this request in an admirable fashion. One boy, for example, wrote: "He works in a ware-house. He takes parcels out of a truck, and stacks them on shelves". There were a number of students, however, who still wrote 'engineer' or 'public servant'. In those cases the decision to put them in the manual or non-manual category was guided by the educational credentials of fathers.

There were a number of occupations that I simply found too difficult to classify, and therefore assigned to a third category, the 'unclassifiable' one. Examples of such occupations are: caretaker, custodian, trawler-skipper, forester. This category also included the few children whose fathers were farmers. The large majority of the category of 'unclassifiable' however, was made up of children whose fathers were either dead or not living with them, and of those who either did not know or did not give the occupations of their fathers. There were also a few whose answers were facetious or obscene.[1]

---

1. Occupation of fathers

Manual	367	No father, or no information	90
Non-manual	618	Retired	4
'Difficult' occupations	12	Facetious or obscene	11
Farmers	3		

OCCUPATION OF MOTHERS:

The occupations of mothers presented difficulties of their own. It can easily be argued, for example, that the work of typists or punch-card operators is just as manual as that of machine operators. It is however, customary to classify typists as clerical, and thus non-manual. I followed this custom.

More problematical perhaps, were the mothers who were shop-assistants. A substantial number of the mothers employed as shop-assistants worked in super-markets, groceries and other food shops. People employed in 'shop' or 'sales' occupations are generally classified as non-manual, but much of the work done in food shops is, in actual fact, more manual than non-manual. Although I wanted to relate the occupations of mothers as much as possible to my male occupational categories, I eventually decided to put shop-assistant mothers in a third category of their own. There are thus three categories for mothers in paid employment:

1. Manual.
2. Clerical/Professional.
3. Shop assistants.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

A number of the questions are identical to those in the questionnaire used by Coleman and his associates in the United States on 12th grade students in the Educational Opportunities Survey, the results of which can be found in the Coleman Report (1966, pp.645-55). Other questions were adapted to New Zealand conditions.

The questions included aimed at establishing:

Father's occupation.
Mother's occupation.
Father's education.
Mother's education.
Family Size.
Number of bocks at home.
Whether and how often pupils talked about school work with their parents.
Whether pupils had been read to by their parents when they were pre-schoolers.

The questionnaire was administered to all pupils in forms 4, 5 and 6 at the two schools. I did not include third-formers in the sample, mainly because I assumed that their educational aspirations would be less realistic than those of older pupils, whose aspirations - I presumed - would probably be more or less in line with their longer personal experience of secondary schooling.

The students filled out the questionnaire during a class-period under the supervision of a teacher. Response was not compulsory. At School B I had a meeting with all the English teachers who were going to supervise in class in order to explain the purposes of my research; at School A I was not given the opportunity to have such a meeting. The response rate at the two schools, however, was almost identical; School A - 80.8 per cent; B - 79.7 per cent.

TABLE 1.1 RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Categories	School A	School B	Total
Manual	228	139	367
Non-manual	297	321	618
Unclassified	68	52	120
TOTAL	593	512	1105

NATURE OF RESPONSE:

Although there were a handful of students whose responses were obscene or facetious, the large majority of the students appeared to take the questionnaire seriously. It is, of course, impossible to assess the reliability of their answers. This will always remain the dilemma attached to the questionnaire method: research involving questionnaires can never be definitive.

After the incomplete and unprintable responses were eliminated, as well as the responses of children whose fathers' occupations were 'unclassifiable', 985 'manual' and 'non-manual' students were finally included in the sample.

COEFFICIENT OF ASSOCIATION:

The data were arranged in dichotomous 2 x 2 tables. In order to determine the degree of the associations established between the various independent variables and educational performance, a simple measure of association, known as the Coefficient of Association or, more informally, as Yule's Q was used.

(Mueller and Schuessler, 1961, pp. 242-249; Doby, 1967, pp.148-150).

The formula is: $$Q = \frac{ad-bc}{ad+bc}$$

where a,b,c, and d are the joint frequencies conventionally arranged in the fourfold table in the following manner:

a	b
c	d

Q is primarily a measure of one-way association. For all its simplicity and precision, Q possesses no simple quantitative meaning, and is not convertible into specific prediction. However, because the number of observations in a subclass or stratum does not of itself influence the size of Q, the measure is very useful when the marginal sets are very unlike.

Q values are

insignificant from	.00 to .25
moderately significant from	.25 to .45
(highly) significant from	.45 to 1

CHAPTER TWO

FINDINGS[1]

The aspirations of many secondary school students exceed their scholastic achievement. 66.8% of 1089 students attending forms 4, 5 and 6 at the two co-educational State secondary schools surveyed in this study expressed the desire to gain qualifications as high as University Entrance, Professional or Higher Trades Certificates, Teachers Certificates or University Degrees.[2]

Table 2.1 EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

	%
Leave at 15	2.5
(Some) School Certificate	12.9
Year in 6th Form	7.1
Polytech/Nightschool	6.5
UE	19.1
Professional & Higher Trades Certificate	10.7
Teacher Certificate/ Some University	10.4
University Degree(s)	26.6
Don't know	4.2
	100.0

Educational statistics, however, indicate that many of these pupils would not see their ambitions realised. The figures for the years 1970-1974 show that between 40 and 41 per cent of all pupils leaving secondary schools each year left without qualifications. Only about 25 per cent gained University Entrance or better.[3]

---

1. For a full account of the findings, and complete sets of tables see Social Background and Inequality of Educational Opportunity, A New Zealand Case Study, Marijke Robinson, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, V.U.W. 1975.

2. Aspirations for one or more of these qualifications are hereafter called "UE aspirations".

3. Social Trends in New Zealand, 1977, Wellington, Department of Statistics, p. 86.

Of the 483 third form entrants whose scholastic careers weretraced in this study, 47.2% gained at least one School Certificate subject, but only 27.7% gained three or more School Certificate subject passes.

In 1970 the two schools together had 521 pupils in their third forms. About half that number were candidates for the UE examination three years later. Of this number - 263 pupils - 168 were accredited, or passed UE. The 168 successful UE candidates represent 32.2% of the 1970 entrants. That is less than half of the number of students who expressed aspirations for UE or better qualifications.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

The proposition that children of non-manual fathers tend to have higher educational aspirations, and to achieve higher educational qualifications than children of manual fathers was confirmed. The difference in aspirations between the two social groups reached significance, especially in the case of boys.

985 manual and non-manual students were included in the sample, of these, 367 were in the manual category, and 618 in the non-manual one.

Table 2.2 UE ASPIRATIONS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND SEX

Sex	Manual	Non-manual	Significance of difference in proportions Q
Boys	55.5	78.6	.49
Girls	53.0	73.6	.42

More important, however, was the highly significant difference in the respective achievement levels of the different social groups, for girls as well as for boys.

Of the 483 1970 entrants whose scholastic careers were traced (251 manual, and 232 non-manual), almost three times as many children from non-manual homes gained three or more School Certificate passes than children from manual homes.

Table 2.3 S.C. PASSES GAINED BY 1970 ENTRANTS, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND BY SEX

%

S.C. Passes	Manual	Non-manual	Significance of difference Q
3 or more S.C.passes			
Boys	14.1	41.2	.62
Girls	15.5	42.6	.60
1 or more S.C.passes			
Boys	29.6	62.6	.59
Girls	35.3	64.4	.53

Where the sixth form respondents were concerned, the analysis of the possible influence of home background variables on high or low achievement was less than definitive because of two factors:

1. The number of manual "high achievers" was low at both schools.
2. One of the schools had virtually no "low" achievers in the sixth form.

At school B, the more "middle-class school, admission to the sixth form was based on marks gained in the School Certificate examinations. With the exception of a few carefully selected students, only pupils who had gained around 225 School Certificate points were admitted to the sixth form. In school A, however, the policy for admission to the sixth form was completely open. All fourth-year students who wished to stay at school, whether they had passed School Certificate or not, were accepted into the sixth form.[1] The analysis of differences in achievement is thus based on school A data alone.

1. It must be borne in mind, however, that a substantial number of children do not stay at school that long. Although, according to the principal, 85 per cent of all 15 year olds were still at school in 1974, and more and more children complete at least two years of secondary school, many never reach the sixth form. In July 1973 there were 345 pupils in the third forms at school A. The sixth form, however, had only 180 pupils in September 1973.

The number of sixth formers who could be classified as manual or non-manual in School A was 119. Seventy two of these students had three or more School Certificate passes. Fifty of these "high achievers" had non-manual fathers, twenty-two had manual fathers. The analysis, then, is sadly lacking in a valid statistical base where achievement is concerned, and can only be viewed as an indicator of possible trends. The small numbers, especially of manual pupils, also did not allow for a separation of boys and girls.

Of the 48 manual children in the sixth form at school A, 22 (46%) had three or more S.C. passes. Of the 71 non-manual children, 50 (70%) had three or more S.C. passes. The significance of the difference in these proportions is: Q = .47.

Table 2.4 ACHIEVEMENT MEASURED BY S.C. PASSES OF 6TH FORMERS AT SCHOOL A

All pupils, by father's occupation

S.C. passes	manual	non-manual	
0-2	54.2	29.6	Q = .47
3 or more	45.8	70.4	
TOTAL	48	71	

PARENTAL EDUCATION

There was a very clear relationship between children's educational aspirations, and their father's education. The higher a father's formal education, the more likely a child was to have high educational aspirations.

Table 2.5 EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

Father's Education	U.E. or higher	6th form S.C., or Polytech	Don't know Leave at 15	Total 100%
U.E.	83.1	13.2	3.6	386
Less than U.E.	61.1	30.7	8.2	486
Unknown	48.6	40.5	10.9	111

The significance of the difference in the proportions of children with U.E. aspirations whose fathers' education was at least U.E. and of children with U.E. aspirations whose fathers' education was less than U.E., was .51. The significance increased when we looked at the aspirations of children who did not know their father's education and of children whose fathers had at least U.E.: Q is then .67.

39.3 per cent of all fathers had educational qualifications of U.E. or higher. Only 8.5 per cent of these fathers, however, had manual occupations.

It is not surprising that high educational credentials were closely related to non-manual occupations. Yet not all non-manual fathers had high educational qualifications. Indeed, 17.3 per cent had none at all, according to the information supplied by their children. This proportion was, however, significantly smaller than the proportion of manual fathers without any formal educational credentials (44.7%): Q = .58.

Table 2.6 EDUCATION OF FATHERS

%

Father's Education	Manual	Non-manual
Unknown	15.3	8.9
Primary school/some secondary school, without credentials	44.7	17.3
S.C./Polytechnic	31.0	16.7
U.E. and higher	9.0	57.1
TOTAL	100.0 (367)	100.0 (618)

Manual - Non-manual Differences

Although the aspirations of non-manual children were, in general, higher than those of manual children, the differences between the aspirations of manual and non-manual children became insignificant when their fathers' education was either high, or unknown. U.E. fathers also appeared to influence the aspirations of boys and girls in a very similar manner. The lack of knowledge of their father's education, however, appeared to influence the aspirations of manual girls more negatively than those of non-manual girls, while it seemed to affect manual and non-manual boys to a similar extent.

When a father's education was known, and less than U.E., we noticed a moderately significant difference between manual and non-manual children. When the category "less than U.E.", however, is broken down into two categories: one of fathers with S.C./Polytech. qualifications, and one of fathers without any formal educational qualifications, and when we separate out the sexes, some interesting points emerge. Most notably the relationship between the education of fathers and the aspirations of their children, which at first appeared little affected by the occupational status of fathers, was very significantly altered in the case of boys whose fathers had no formal qualifications.

Table 2.7 U.E. ASPIRATIONS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, SEX

%

Father's education	Manual	Non-manual	Significance of difference Q
U.E.			
Boys	81.3	85.4	.14
Girls	76.5	81.7	.15
No formal educational qualifications			
Boys	48.4	78.5	.59
Girls	49.3	57.1	.15
S.C./Polytechnic			
Boys	62.3	69.4	.15
Girls	61.5	70.7	.20
Unknown			
Boys	55.2	58.8	.07
Girls	30.8	45.5	.30

It appeared in the case of non-manual boys, that their fathers' non-manual status compensated for their lack of education:- Their desires for high educational credentials - which are likely to lead to non-manual status in the future - were significantly higher than those of their manual counterparts. There is a suggestion here that, when fathers have little education, a belief in the necessity for high educational credentials is only generated when fathers have achieved a non-manual position, and then only in the case of boys. The children of fathers with little education who had not achieved non-manual positions seemed on the whole, little impressed by the need for higher educational credentials.

Another point of interest was the high percentage of manual boys whose fathers had S.C. or Polytech. qualifications, who aspired to U.E. or higher. Most of these fathers would have well-paid, skilled occupations. Yet rather than choose their fathers' trades, two thirds of their sons opted for more academic qualifications. It would seem to indicate that the desire for non-manual status among members of this particular occupational grouping, which lies in what Parkin (1972, p.56)calls " the 'buffer-zone' between the middle-class and the 'working-class proper'", was stronger than the promised of economic rewards in themselves.

MOTHER'S EDUCATION

Mothers were, in general, less well educated than their husbands, especially in the manual group. The percentage of children who did not know their mother's educational credentials was also twice as large among manual than among non-manual children.

Table 2.8 EDUCATION OF MOTHERS, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

%

Mother's education	Manual	Non-manual
Unknown	20.0	10.8
Primary School/some secondary school, without credentials	55.9	29.0
S.C./Polytech.	15.3	20.7
U.E.	8.8	39.5
	100.0	100.0
	(367)	(618)

The relationship between the educational aspirations of children and their mothers' education was at first glance strikingly similar to that between aspirations and the fathers' education.

Table 2.9 EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

%

Mother's Education	U.E. or higher	6th form, S.C., or Polytech.	Don't know Leave at 15	Total 100.0%
U.E.	87.0	9.1	3.9	276
Less than UE	64.6	28.6	6.8	567
Unknown	44.3	42.8	12.9	138

The fact that the proportion of children of U.E. mothers with U.E. aspirations was slightly higher than that of children with U.E. fathers, seemed at first to confirm findings of studies (1969); Cohen (1965)1 Douglas (1964); Swift (1966); and Van Heek (1968) that emphasize the importance of the mother's education with respect to her children's scholastic achievement.

However, when we separate the manual and non-manual children, the findings of this study support Vellekoop's (1969, 1971) conclusion that the influence of the father's education is more constant than that of the mother's as far as aspirations are concerned.

Although the relationship between the aspirations of children and their mother's education was indeed very close, this relationship was almost always modified by the occupational status of fathers. In non-manual homes the aspirations of children with highly educated mothers were definitely enhanced, especially in the case of girls. In manual homes, however, a mother's high educational qualifications appeared to have less impact. The aspirations of children whose mothers had U.E. or higher academic qualifications were no higher, on the average, and sometimes even lower, than those of children whose mothers had School Certificate or Polytechnic qualifications. Conversely, a lack of knowledge of their mother's education - which was taken to show either a lack of interest in education on the part of mothers, or a sign of little formal education - appeared to have a greater negative influence on the aspirations of manual children than those of non-manual children, while the impact of a lack of knowledge of the fathers' education appeared to be the same for the aspirations of both manual and non-manual children.

Table 2.10 U.E. ASPIRATIONS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF BOTH PARENTS

Parental education	Manual %	Non-manual %	Significance of Difference Q
Father only,U.E.			
boys	84.6	80.9	.12
girls	73.3	72.5	.02
Mother only,U.E.			
boys	73.7	82.8	.50
girls	62.5	95.0	.83
Father SC/Polyt.			
boys	62.3	69.4	.15
girls	61.5	70.7	.20
Mother SC/Polyt.			
boys	73.1	80.0	.19
girls	73.3	74.1	.02
Fa.Ed.Unknown			
boys	55.2	58.8	.07
girls	30.8	45.5	.30
M.Ed. Unknown			
boys	34.1	56.8	.43
girls	35.3	57.7	.42

The best possible breeding ground for high educational aspirations was the home in which both parents had U.E. or higher. Eighty-nine per cent of children from such families aspired to U.E. or higher. This background was,however, very rare among manual children. Of the 200 families in the sample of whom both parents had at least U.E.- only five were manual.

When it came to achievement, however, the education of mothers may count for more. The data suggested that a lack of education on the part of mothers was more negatively associated with the possession of School Certificate passes than was a lack of education on the part of fathers. At the same time children with highly educated mothers also formed the most strongly over-represented category among the high achievers.

Table 2.11 PROPORTIONS OF "HIGH ACHIEVERS" IN SIXTH FORM, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND PARENTAL EDUCATION

Parental education	Manual %	Base n	Non-manual %	Base n	Significance of difference Q
Fa.ed.UE	50.0	4	78.4	37	.56
Fa.ed.less than UE	44.7	38	63.3	30	.36
Mo.ed.UE	60.0	5	77.3	22	.38
Mo.ed.less than UE	45.7	35	72.1	43	.50
Fa.ed. unknown	50.0	6	50.0	4	.00
Mo.ed unknown	50.0	8	42.9	7	.14

EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS

The majority of mothers had either part-time, or full-time paid occupations. Only 36.9 per cent of all mothers were not employed. Of those employed, 41.8 per cent had clerical or professional occupations, 21.4 were shop assistants or manually employed.

The proportions of manual and non-manual mothers who were not employed were virtually the same: 37.4 per cent of manual mothers, and 36.6 per cent of non-manual mothers.

Of all mothers who had clerical/professional occupations, 22.2 per cent had husbands in manual jobs. Of all mothers who were shop assistants, or who were manually employed, 65.2 per cent had husbands with manual occupations.

The proportion of children with U.E. aspirations who had mothers who were employed was very slightly higher than that of children whose mothers were not employed: 69.4 per cent against 66.0 per cent. The difference between these proportions was most insignificant statistically: Q=.07.

Somewhat greater significances in differential aspirations did appear when the kind of occupation a mother had, was considered.

All children with clerical/professional mothers showed proportionately higher aspirations than did children whose mothers were not employed, and all children whose mothers were shop assistants or manually employed showed proportionately lower aspirations than do children whose mothers were not employed. Differences in proportions were,however, not very significant, and only somewhat more significant for manual children than for non-manual children.

Where the achivement of manual children was concerned, there was little difference in the proportions of high achievers, whether their mothers were or were not employed, or whether they were employed in one way or the other.

The performance of non-manual children, however, whose mothers were manually employed or shop assistants, was significantly lower than that of children whose mothers were not employed: 37.5% vs. 72% (Q=.61); and even more so than that of children who had clerical/professional mothers: 37.5% vs.77% (Q=.70), although the number of children with manual/ shop assistant mothers was very small (n=8).

There were also significant differences in the proportions of manual and non-manual high achievers whose mothers were not employed in the proportions of manual and non-manual high achievers whose mothers had clerical/professional occupations. Only among children whose mothers were manually employed or shop assistants was the difference in the proportions of high achievers in the manual and non-manual categories insignificant.

Table 2.12 PROPORTIONS OF "HIGH ACHIEVERS" IN SIXTH FORM, BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

Mother's occupation	Manual	Non-manual	Significance of difference Q
Cler/Prof	50.0	77.4	.54
Man/Shop	50.0	37.5	.12
Not employed	44.4	71.9	.52

The conclusions to be drawn from this are:

a) the educational performance of secondary school children is enhanced rather than depressed when their mothers have occupations outside the home, unless mothers are manually employed, or employed as shop assistants; and

b) the possible influence a mother's influence may exert on the educational performance of her children probably resides less in the fact that she is employed, than in the fact that her occupation is a reflection of her education or ability. The kind of occupation a mother has, however, may reinforce the influence her education or lack or education may have on the educational performance of her children.

FAMILY SIZE

The number of only children was too small to be considered as a separate category. 78.1 per cent of all children came from families with 1-4 children, 21.9 per cent came from families with five or more children.

Of non-manual children, only 15.7 per cent lived in the larger families. More than twice as many (32.5%) manual children came from families with five or more children. The significance of this difference is Q = .44.

The aspirations of manual boys from families with five or more children were moderately lower than those from smaller families: 45.6 per cent U.E. aspirations against 60.6 per cent (Q = .29). For manual girls the drop in aspirations of girls from large families was statistically insignificant: Q = .11.

For both non-manual boys and girls the differences in the aspirations of children from large families and from the smaller families were statistically insignificant: Q =.18 and Q = .19 respectively.

Far more significant than family size in itself was however, the occupational status of fathers. U.E. aspirations were much more strongly associated with occupational status than with family size.

Table 2.13 U.E. ASPIRATIONS BY FAMILY SIZE AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Family size	Manual %	Non-manual %	Significance of difference Q
1 - 4			
Boys	60.6	79.6	.43
Girls	54.8	74.8	.42
5 or more			
Boys	45.6	72.7	.52
Girls	49.0	66.7	.35

As far as achievement was concerned, there was a moderately significant difference in the proportions of high achievers from smaller families and from large families (Q=.31). This significance originated in the differences in the performance of manual children: 50 per cent of children from the smaller families were high achievers, against 35.7 per cent of the large families (Q=.28). Among non-manual children, 71.0 per cent of the children from the smaller families had three or more S.C. passes, against 66.7 per cent of the children from the large families (Q=.10).

The proportions of high achievers among non-manual children were higher than those of manual children, no matter what the size of the family was: Q=.41 in the case of smaller families, and Q=.50 in the case of large families.

In this study a relationship between family size and educational performance was thus only established in the case of manual children. Neither the aspirations nor the achievement of non-manual children were in any significant way diminished when they came from large families.

This contrasts with the findings of many studies in other countries that have correlated scholastic success with family size. Jackson and Marsden (1969), Fraser (1959), Blau and Duncan (1967), Swift (1966), Girard (1961, 1963b), Nisbet (1961) all found that the larger the number of siblings, the less likely a child was to aspire or to achieve highly.

Douglas (1964), however, also discovered that family size did not exert a statistically significant influence on the test performance of middle class girls. In the light of this, Douglas said, the argument that the lower IQ noted among children from large families might be explained by the suggestion that intelligent couples restrict their families, whereas dull couples do not, is untenable. If the argument does not hold for one category, it cannot hold for any. The findings of this study appear to support Douglas.

An explanation for the relatively low educational performance of manual children from large families may well reside in Boudon's (1974) notions of cost, benefit, and utility: apart from the explanation of their lower achievement in terms of low parental education. The value large manual families attach to the benefit and utility of a long education for their children is probably influenced by considerations of the cost involved. Manual families, whose financial resources may be insufficient to feed many mouths, are likely to regard extra years spent at school as a loss of immediate income rather than as an investment in the future. The utility of a known, paid occupation will be seen as greater than the unknown benefits a longer education might possibly give.

PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION

Studies in other countries have established strong relationships between parental attitudes and educational performance. This relates especially to the interest parents show in the educational progress of their children, and their involvement in the cognitive development of their offspring. Some, indeed, have claimed that parental attitudes exert a stronger influence on educational performance than do class situation or parental education (Plowden Report (1967)), esp. Peaker: Appendix 4, pp. 184-88; Wiseman; Appendix 9,p.348; Fraser (1964); Douglas (1964)).

In this study parental interest and involvement, measured by "talk about schoolwork" and being "read to as a pre-schooler", were also found to be related to educational performance. Both the aspirations and the achievement of children who talked with their parents about their schoolwork, and of children whose parents had read to them when they were pre-schoolers were, on the whole, higher than of those who lacked this type of parent-child interaction. The relationships between these variables and educational performance were, however, strongly modified by the parental occupation variable. The existence of favourable parental attitudes may be necessary, but they are apparently not sufficient to guarantee successful educational achievement.

The question that was aimed at finding out how many, and which children had been read to as pre-schoolers seemed to bother a number of respondents, some of whom wrote in remarks such as: "None of your business!". It may well be that some respondents answered this question as they thought they "ought to", rather than as they remembered it. Many, in fact, (21%) did not remember at all!

Girls were read to more often than boys, especially in manual families.

Table 2.14 READ TO AS PRE-SCHOOLER, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND BY SEX

Frequency of being read to	Manual %		Non-manual %	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Never, or once in a while only	29.6	12.7	21.4	10.8
Frequently	41.8	63.3	60.1	72.8
Can't remember	28.6	24.1	18.5	16.5

There were significant differences in the apparent influence exerted by parental attitudes in the case of manual children compared with non-manual ones. This would indicate that there were qualitative differences in the parent-child interaction process, which may be more important than the interaction itself. These qualitative differences will be more fully examined in the discussion of the findings later in the book.

Twenty-two manual sixth formers had frequently been read to: half of these had three or more S.C. passes, whereas forty-four non-manual pupils had frequently been read to: 31 of these had three or more S.C. passes (Q=.40). The Q value for the manual - non-manual difference in the proportions of high achievers among those who had not been read to is .62. (Seven out of the 13 manual children who had not been read to had at least three S.C. passes; ten out of the 12 non-manual children who had not been read to had at least three S.C. passes.)

Many educationists believe that reading to pre-schoolers is an important factor in the intellectual development of children. Yet the figures in this study suggest that the effect of such reading appeared to be affected by home circumstances, namely, that the kind of parent-child interaction involved in the act of reading to pre-schoolers did not have the same results in manual as in non-manual homes. Half of the manual children, who said that they had been read to, were not high achievers. On the other hand, most of the non-manual children who said they had not been read to, were high achievers.

This suggests that, whether a child is read stories or, the way in which a child is read stories - the accompanying conversations and explanations - form probably only one facet of the whole pattern of communication, and of the linguistic code, of parents and children. The act of reading to pre-schoolers in itself does not seem to be significant for educational achievement, but appears to be only one of a number of factors that, together, shape the early intellectual environment of children.

Where "talking about schoolwork" was concerned, much the same applied. Manual girls talked about their school work daily with their parents more often than did manual boys (42.3% vs. 26.0%). This sex-difference also occurred among non-manual children (52.7% vs. 42.5%), while the latter in general discussed their work more often with parents than did manual pupils.

For manual children, it appeared to make little difference how often they talked about school with their parents, so long as they talked. The significance of the difference in the proportions of U.E. - aspiring manual children who talked daily or once/twice a week, and those who talked never/hardly ever was Q=.44 for boys, and Q=.47 for girls.

Whether non-manual boys talked with their parents, however, or how often they talked or not talked, did not seem to bear any relationship to their aspirations. The proportion of non-manual boys aspiring to U.E. was the same whether they talked daily, once or twice a week, once or twice a month, or never, with their parents. Non-manual girls, on the other hand, appeared more affected by the frequency of talk, and their aspirations tended to be less high the fewer talks about schoolwork they had with their parents. The difference in the proportion of non-manual girls who talked never or hardly ever (which was virtually the same as that of girls who talked only once or twice a month) and the proportion of girls who talked about school work daily or once or twice a week, was: Q=.47.

The relationship between educational aspirations and talking about schoolwork was once again, different for manual and for non-manual children.

Table 2.15 ASPIRATIONS BY TALK ABOUT SCHOOLWORK, BY SEX, AND BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

%

Frequency of Talk about Schoolwork	Manual	Non-manual	Significance of difference Q
Daily, or once/twice a week			
Boys	60.9	79.4	.42
Girls	58.2	77.3	.41
Never, or Hardly ever			
Boys	37.5	80.0	.73
Girls	33.3	50.0	.41

The achievement of manual children also appeared to be affected more whether they talked about schoolwork or not than that of non-manual children. Thirty-six manual children talked daily, or once or twice a week, with their parents. Of these, 17 (47%) had three or more S.C. passes. Seven never, or hardly ever, talked about schoolwork, and only two of these were high achievers. Sixty-one non-manual children talked daily with their parents. Among them, 44 (72%) were high achievers. Only three non-manual pupils never talked about schoolwork with their parents, and two of these had three or more S.C. passes.

BOOKS IN THE HOME

More non-manual than manual pupils came from homes which had 100 or more books. Of course it is again difficult, if not impossible, to assess the accuracy of the students' responses to the question relating to the number of books in their homes. Yet, if the respondents under-estimated or exaggerated the number of books their families possessed, there was "method in their madness", as the following table shows.

Table 2.16 NUMBER OF BOOKS POSSESSED BY FAMILY, BY SCHOOL, AND BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

%

	School A		School B	
No. of Books	Manual	Non-manual	Manual	Non-manual
0-25	13.7	7.4	17.0	4.4
100 +	56.4	78.7	60.7	78.1

Educational aspirations werevery closely associated with the number of books possessed by families. Of all children who reported possessing only 0-25 books (n=91), only 34.1 per cent had U.E. aspirations. Of all children who reported possessing 100 or more books (n=693), 74.9 per cent had U.E. aspirations. Of all children who reported possessing 100 or more books (n=693), 74.9 per cent had U.E. aspirations.

The possession or lack of books influenced the aspirations of non-manual children more significantly than manual ones. Although the aspirations of manual children who had 100 or more books were still significantly lower than those of their non-manual counterparts, especially in the case of boys, differences in the aspirations of manual and non-manual pupils disappeared almost completely when it came to children who had few or no books at home.

As far as achievement was concerned, the possession of books was one of only two variables that was not affected by father's occupation. The other variable was the negative "parental education unknown".

There were only thirteen sixth form pupils who said that they had few (0-25) books at home. Eighty three pupils possessed 100 or more books, and the remaining 23 reported having between 25 and 100 books at home.

Six manual children lacked books at home: half of these had at least three S.C. passes. Seventeen had 100 or more books at home: thirteen of these (76.5%) had three or more S.C. passes.

Seven non-manual children lacked books: four of these had three S.C. passes. 56 pupils reported 100 or more books: 40 of these (71%) had three or more S.C. passes. Q-value for difference is .30.

The difference in the proportions of high achievers among manual and non-manual children with 100 or more books at home was statistically insignificant: Q=.13. The slight difference was in fact, in favour of the manual children, where a somewhat greater proportion had at least three S.C. passes than among the non-manual children.

The apparent negative influence of a lack of books on achievement was also very similar for manual and non-manual children: Q-.14.

SOCIAL CLIMATE OF SCHOOLS

The findings of this study supplied only partial support for the conclusions of Wilson (1959), Coleman et al. (1966), and Vellekoop (1968, 1971), that children from lower socio-economic strata aspire or achieve more highly when they attend "working-class schools".

As Coleman also found, the difference in the achievement of children from different strata was greater within the two schools than between the two schools. In this study the achievement of children was neither significantly raised when they attended the "middle-class" school, nor depressed when they attended the "working-class" school.

Table 2.17 1970 ENTRANTS GAINING 3 OR MORE S.C.PASSES, BY SCHOOL, OCCUPATION OF FATHER, AND SEX

%

Fa's Occup.	School A	School B	Significance of Difference Q
Manual			
boys	12.6	16.7	.16
girls	15.3	16.1	.03
Non-manual			
boys	36.0	44.4	.17
girls	35.7	47.5	.23

Some students attending the "middle-class" school B did appear to have somewhat higher aspirations than their counterparts at school A. It was, however, the non-manual group that this applied to, rather than the manual group.

Table 2.18 U.E. ASPIRATIONS BY SCHOOL, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, AND SEX

%

Fa's occup.	School A	School B	Significance of difference Q
Manual			
boys	53.5	58.1	.09
girls	48.7	62.3	.27
Non-manual			
boys	72.1	83.7	.32
girls	66.0	82.3	.41

When this point was examined more closely, it emerged that there was little or no difference between the schools in the proportions of non-manual U.E.- aspirants whose fathers' educational qualifications were high, but quite a significant difference when their fathers' educational qualifications were less than U.E. And, looking, more closely into the category "less than U.E.", we see different relationships for boys and girls. The significance of the difference in the proportions of girls with U.E. aspirations whose fathers had no educational qualifications was very great indeed.

A further point of interest was the much higher proportion of boys with S.C./Polytech. fathers at school B who aspired to U.E.

Table 2.19 NON-MANUAL U.E. ASPIRANTS BY SCHOOL, SEX AND FATHER'S EDUCATION

%

Fa's Educ.	School A	School B	Significance of difference Q
U.E. or higher			
boys	85.0	85.6	.02
girls	77.4	85.7	.27
Less than U.E.			
boys	64.7	84.7	.47
girls	55.6	79.3	.50
No formal educ. qualif.			
boys	75.0	82.8	.23
girls	43.3	91.7	.87
S.C./Polyt.			
boys	53.1	86.7	.70
girls	70.8	70.6	.00

All in all, Table 2.19 suggests that the social climate of school B raised the aspirations of the children of upwardly mobile fathers to a greater extent than the social climate of school A; in particular those of girls whose fathers had no formal educational qualifications, and of sons of successful tradesmen. The latter, when they attended school A, appeared more inclined to follow in their fathers' occupational footsteps and make their ways through the trades.

The fact remains, however, that the aspirations of manual children were very similar at both schools, as were also the aspirations of children who did not know their parents' education. This would indicate that the social climate of the "middle-class' school B only raised the aspirations of children whose home environment was already favourable, or upwardly mobile. It seemed to do little for the aspirations of children whose home environment lacked the stimulus either of parental education, or parental mobility.

SEX DIFFERENCES

Boys did tend to aspire higher than girls, but the difference between the sexes was generally small and statistically insignificant. When it came to achievement this situation was reversed: girls did very slightly better than boys.

Table 2.20 EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE BY SEX AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

%

Sex	U.E. Aspirations	High Achievement (3 or more S.C.)
Manual		
boys	55.5	14.1
girls	53.3	15.5
Non-manual		
boys	78.6	41.2
girls	73.6	42.6

At several points, however, the data presented in preceding tables, suggested that social class factors affected the aspirations of boys more than those of girls, and that the girls' educational performance was more weakly related to specific background variables than was the case for boys.

This supports other findings that the performance of girls is more nearly in accord with their measured ability than is the case for boys. (Lavin, 1973). It may also indicate, however, that parents still tend to attach more importance to investing in the education of a boy than in the education of girls, especially when they consider the costs and benefits of education.

When the educational qualifications of their children can be seen as a means to secure or to consolidate the status of parents - as, for example, in the case of fathers who, although without formal educational qualifications occupied non-manual positions, high educational aspirations tended to be limited to boys. Their sons, on the whole, had higher aspirations than their daughters, although this tendency was modified if the latter attend a "middle-class" school. Then they

often aspired as highly as their brothers. In school A, however, the daughters of non-manual fathers without formal qualifications had aspiration levels little higher than the sons and daughters of manual fathers without qualifications.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The educational aspirations and achievement of the secondary school pupils attending the two New Zealand schools surveyed in this study, were closely associated with social class, as they are in other advanced industrial countries. Neither the school system itself, nor the social climate of schools appeared capable of overcoming this relationship.

Differences in the achievement of children from different social groups were even more significant than their differences in aspirations. Proportionately, almost three times as many children from non-manual homes as from manual homes gained three or more School Certificate passes. This disparity was not due to a proportionate difference in educational aspirations. Although, as a group, manual children did have lower aspirations than non-manual children, this difference was only half as great as the difference in their achievement.

The analysis of the findings revealed that, although most of the home background variables investigated were to some degree related to educational performance, few were constant in their relationship. Only two sets of home background variables were found to be independent of social class influences, and appeared to have the same effect on the educational performance of pupils, whether they came from manual or non-manual homes. These were variables measuring parental education and family literacy - the latter measured by the possession or lack of books in the home.

CHAPTER THREE

There was clearly, a significant class difference in the educational performance of the New Zealand secondary school pupils in the sample surveyed in this study. The families into which the children were born apparently exerted a greater influence on their educational achievement than did the schools they went to. Having established this general trend two further questions require closer examination. Namely, What are the dynamics of class differentiated achievement and, why are schools apparently unable to produce equal results?1

A great deal of class-differentiated achievement can probably be explained by the higher educational qualifications possessed by non-manual parents. Educated parents are more likely to know how to help their children progress through the education system successfully than are parents who lack educational credentials. They have been through the system themselves, and therefore tend to know how to manipulate that system. The knowledge they have gained helps their children to acquire the knowledge valued and rewarded in the education system.

However, a further explanation is necessary if we are to explain the continued failure of school systems to equalize results, even though many reforms with the specific purpose of overcoming the handicaps that children from less educated backgrounds enter the system with have been introduced.

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1. The question as to whether differences in IQ and educational achievement have a genetic origin or are a function of environmental factors has given rise to many, often acrimonious, debates. The controversy, fanned in particular by Jensen's 1969 article in the Harvard Educational Review, in which he suggested that IQ differences within as well as between racial groups could be accounted for by genetic factors, may never be resolved. I personally believe that IQ tests probably do not measure innate intelligence, but "achieved functional capacity" (Strodtbeck, 1967). The controversy has ideological implications, but lacks practical ones. Jensen himself points out that, while there may be a difference in the average IQ scores of black and white Americans, the range of scores achieved by the individuals in both groups is virtually the same. (Jensen, 1980). Besides, even if intelligence is in any measure genetically determined, "so long as even the smallest amount of individual variation in the quality is under the control of environmental factors, it makes perfectly good sense to try and alter environments which seem to retard the development of intelligence." (Nicholson, 1980).

Sub-cultural Differences

A number of social scientists have tried to explain differential achievement through theories that postulate sub-cultural differences in the value systems held respectively by the middle-class and the working-class.

Working-class pupils, they say, do not achieve as highly as middle-class pupils, because they do not wish to. This lack of ambition is a function of the value system to which working-class members adhere, and in which they socialise their children. Their value system is passivistic, in contrast to that of the middle-class, which emphasises activism and achievement; it is present-oriented and does not include the middle-class belief in the value of delaying immediate pleasure for the sake of long-term gratification; and it is familistic: that is to say, it places a greater value on the preservation of family ties and on collective action than does the value system of the middle-class, which supports individualistic behaviour even if it means shedding family ties. (Rosen, 1958; Hyman, 1966; Schneider and Lysgaard, 1953).

Many British and American sociologists have documented the "collective" aspect of the working-class sub-culture, which stands in contrast to the "individuated" life style of middle-class members. The reference groups or primary groups of working-class people are said to be based on kinship, ethnicity, nationality, or neighbourhood. The social relationships of middle-class people, however, are built around individual preferences: they are voluntary associations of persons joined by shared interests or perceived opportunities. Middle-class people, it has been argued, are far more likely to discard ties to the family of orientation if these appear likely to interfere with social mobility than are working-class people. (Young and Wilmott, 1957; Mogey, 1956; Goldthorpe et al., 1969; Gans,1962, 1968a; Whyte, 1943; Webber and Webber, 1967; Berger, 1960).

Some believe that the working-class' greater dependence upon the neighbourhood and kin, and their lower aspirations or ambitions for mobility are intrinsic socio-cultural variants in perception. The aspirations of working-class members, they say, are lower, because assimilation into middle-class society, and middle-class life styles are not a desired objective (Goldthorpe et al, 1969; Berger, 1960). Kahl (1961), examining the aspirations of "common man" boys, found that most working-class families in his sample believed in the core value of "getting by", and were satisfied with their "common man" life style. Their sons had no university aspirations although they were intelligent enough to go to university. Only a minority of the parents believed in the middle-class core value of "getting ahead", and put pressure on their sons to achieve high academic credentials.

Other social scientists, although they do not deny that behaviour patterns vary according to social class position, do not accept the notion that the separate value systems are intrinsic to the different classes. Oscar Lewis (1968) for example, sees the lower-class sub-culture members' lack of ambition as an adaptation to and an effort to cope with the realisation that it would be highly improbable that they would achieve success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society. Parkin (1972) also does not believe that the working-class sub-culture's value system is a separate one, but a "negotiated version" of the dominant value system. With Gans (1968a) and Rainwater (1967) he believes that, knowing they cannot live up to their aspirations, lower-class people develop other norms, that fit their own existential conditions. Rodman (1963) conceptualises this divergence between lower-class aspirations and lower-class norms as the "lower-class value stretch".

Kohn (1963) adds another dimension to the origins of sub-cultural differences. According to Kohn, the different aspirations of middle-class and working-class members, their different hopes and fears, their different conceptions of the desirable, or values, stem from differences in their work situations. Middle-class occupations deal more with the manipulation of inter-personal relations, ideas and symbols, while working-class occupations deal more with the manipulation of things. Middle-class occupations are more subject to self-direction, while working-class occupations are more subject to standardisation and direct supervision. In middle-class occupations getting ahead is more dependent upon one's own actions, while in working class occupations this is more often a result of collective action. From these differences, Kohn says, one can sketch differences in the characteristics that make for getting along, and getting ahead.

Willis (1977) sees the importance given to the group as an expression of a working class preference for the informal over the formal. To the working class, practice is more important than theory. If theory cannot be linked to particular productive practices, it is rejected. According to Willis, the working class view would be the acceptable one were it not located in class society. After all, theory is only useful insofar as it helps to accomplish practical tasks. For the middle-class, however, theory, even if never applied, is useful and searched after as the power enabling one to move up the social scale.

Pre-conceptions of Teachers

Another explanation of class-differentiated educational behaviour looks at middle-class rather than at working-class expectations. A number of social scientists have found that teachers are biased in favour of middle-class children, and will often automatically allocate them to top streams, while working-class children are allocated to lower streams, regardless of ability. This tends to be done on the basis of beliefs or pre-conceptions held by teachers about the determining effect of class background or intellectual ability (Schafer et al, 1970; Bowles, 1972; Silberman, 1970, Girard, 1963, Jackson and Marsden, 1969).

Not only do such selection processes indicate to children how others evaluate them, they also tend to influence their self-evaluation. Once a child has been labelled "less intelligent", he/she will tend to believe this is so, and perform accordingly. The pre-selection of pupils into different ability groups thus becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, providing teachers with "proof" that they have made the right decision.

Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968a, 1968b) designed an experiment around the notion of the self-fulfilling prophecy, and to test the hypothesis ..at, within a given classroom, a pupil's growth in competence was a function of their teachers' expectations.

A "test", purported to predict academic "blooming", was administered to all children in a primary school. In each classroom about 20 per cent of the children were - randomly - designated as academic "spurters". Their names were reported to their teachers in the following year. Not only did the experimental children indeed make gains in IQ, sometimes very substantial ones, many of the control children also did. However, although both groups of children had thus "spurted", teachers reacted very differently to their improvement. Only the experimental children were rated by their teachers as more appealing, well adjusted, affectionate, and lower in need of social approval. The more the control children gained in verbal IQ, the more they were regarded as less well-adjusted. The authors concluded that there may be hazards to unpredicted intellectual growth: the chances that the unexpected intellectual growth of pupils is rewarded by their teachers are smaller than the chances that it is ignored, or even disapproved of.

A Socio-Linguistic Perspective

Although theories dealing with differences in sub-cultural value systems are useful in describing general behaviour patterns, they lack satisfactory explanatory power. They fail to explain, for example, why children from lower socio-economic groups with supportive parents who do share the achievement values purported typical of the middle-class, still often fail to realise their ambitions.

Also, although the manual children in this survey did indeed have lower ambitions than non-manual children, the fact remains that large numbers of them had high educational aspirations. When 54.4 per cent of the manual students aspired to U.E. or higher (as against 76.3 per cent of the non-manual students) one cannot really speak of low aspirations.

Boudon's (1974) notions of cost, benefit and utility may be an additional explanation. Recent research in the United Kingdom in fact, lends some support to Boudon's hypothesis. Fulton and Gordon (1979) studied nearly 3,000 fifth formers to find out how pupils would respond to the idea of study grants. They found, first of all, that about half of the 15 year olds intended to leave full-time education at the earliest possible opportunity. This intention was still very much class related. The authors found that 73 per cent of the sons and 66 per cent of the daughters of professional fathers intended to enter full-time higher education, as against under a quarter of the children of skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers.

Pupils who intended to leave or start work at 16 were then asked if they might stay on if they were given a study grant. Although many would still leave (52 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls said they would, even if they were given a grant of twenty pounds per week), at least 15 per cent of the boys and 24 per cent of the girls of high ability said they might have stayed on at school for a grant of ten pounds per week.

The cost factor is undoubtedly important. The question remains, however: why do manual children whose aspirations are high, and whose parents do the things that have been found to be important in the scholastic development of children - such as reading to them as pre-schoolers, and talking about school work - still fail more often than non-manual children?

My findings show that the educational performance of both manual and non-manual pupils was raised if their parents had read to them as pre-schoolers, and talked with their children about their school work. They also show, however, that the influence of these factors was always modified by class, unlike the influence of parental education and the number of books in the home.

Manifestations of parental involvement appeared to be much more effective, as far as formal achievement was concerned, in non-manual homes than in manual homes. This would indicate there existed a class-related difference in the quality, and/or the content, of the verbal parent-child interaction taking place in the different social groups.

The perspective that was most helpful in the interpretation of these findings was a socio-linguistic one. That perspective combines aspects of theories focusing on teacher expectations, but adds other factors: differences in the functions and usage of class-related language patterns. Prominent in this area are the theories postulated by Basil Bernstein (1973).

Bernstein suggests that the different work and authority patterns and the different life styles experienced by middle-class and working-class people result not only in different interpersonal family relationships, but also in the use of different linguistic codes. He identifies two general codes, or modes of speech, which exist within any given language: an elaborated code, and a restricted code.

Speech controlled by a restricted code, says Bernstein, tends to be fast, fluent, with reduced articulatory clues. Its meanings are often discontinuous, condensed and local; involving a low level of syntactic and vocabulary selection: where the how rather than the what of the communication is important and, above all, implicit rather than verbally explicit.

An elaborated code tends to be highly articulated in both its vocabulary and its syntax. It elaborates the meanings and makes them both explicit and specific. Much of a restricted code consists of a kind of incidental "emotional" accompaniment to the action here and now. In contrast, an elaborated code serves more to represent things and events not immediately present.

An elaborated code generates universalistic meanings in the sense that the meanings are freed from the context and so understandable by all, whereas a restricted code generates particularistic meanings in the sense that the meanings are closely tied to the context and can be understood by others only if they have access to the context which originally generated the communication.

Social Origins of the Linguistic Codes

According to Bernstein, a restricted code will arise when the form of social relations is based on closely shared experiences,

upon a range of common expectations. Thus a restricted code emerges when the culture or sub-culture raises the "we" above the "I", a culture generally associated with the working class. The use of a restricted code creates social solidarity at the cost of the verbal elaboration of individual experience. An elaborated code will arise wherever the culture or sub-culture emphasizes the "I" over the "we", as in the middle class.

Linguistic codes are initiated in family life. Restricted codes are developed in "positional" families, that is to say, families that recognize a clear separation of roles. Formally defined areas of decision-making and judgements are accorded to members of the family in terms of their formal status in the family. Children are generally socialized by their age mates, while their parents have their closest interactions with adult kin.

Elaborated codes are developed in "person-oriented" families, a family type in which personal psychological qualities, rather than formal status, determines who makes decisions, modifications and judgements. In such families the socialization of children is never left to their peers. The behaviour of the child in his peer group would be subject to discussion with parents, however, rather than to their legislation.

Sub-culture studies (see pp.38/9) strongly suggest that the traditional working-class family is of the positional type. The working-class, as a result of its common occupational function and social status, has developed a strong communal bond. Their work relations offer little variation or little exercise in decision-making. Assertion, if it is to be successful, must be collective rather than individual. Work tasks require manipulation of objects rather than symbolic organization and control. The diminished authority of men at work is transformed into the authority of power at home.

The Functions of Linguistic Codes

According to Bernstein, a child exposed to an elaborated code learns to associate a relatively large number of verbal labels with their corresponding referents. He learns to perceive a wide array of objects in a well articulated environment, and to think both deductively and inductively. His ability to develop conceptual thinking and to solve problems is established.

A restricted code, more dependent on immediate perceptual experiences, develops a more limited ability to develop abstract-conceptual learning. Although a restricted code has a vast potential, a considerable metaphoric range, and a unique aesthetic capacity, this code, Bernstein argues, directs a child to orders of learning and relevance that are not in harmony with those required in schools.

Schools transmit orders of learning which are concerned with abstract conceptualization, and universalistic orders of meaning, or "un-commonsense" knowledge. An elaborated code provides the child with the tools necessary to get on in school, a restricted code does not. Schools are the agents of elaborated codes, and are based on the assumption that the orders of learning which are fostered by an elaborated code are the only ones that deserve formal rewards.

Bernstein's work has had many critics, who have vociferously pointed at the richness and intricacy of "street language"(Labov, 1970; Rosen, 1972), and the artificiality of research projects which have tested his theories. These have often been based on large samples and questionnaires, rather than on observation of actual behaviour in natural settings.

Wootton's research (1974), in contrast, was based on observations of speech in natural settings. His study confirms several of Bernstein's findings and hypotheses, but it also provides what may be a significant modification. His sample, however, was very small: 20 children, all four years old. The fathers of ten of the children in his sample were in semi-skilled occupations, the other fathers were managers or professionals. Tape recorders attached to the children's chests recorded their speech during a normal week-day.

Wootton found that the average middle-class child spoke almost two and a half times more often with his parents (2,000 times per day)than the average working-class child, and saw less than half as much television. The control middle-class parents exerted over their children was also generally more articulate and persuasive than that exercised by working-class parents. Furthermore, middle-class parents initiated conversations with their children more often than did their children, while working-class parents did so less often. The latter were also rather unresponsive to their children.

Wootton's conclusions, however, are different from those of Bernstein's. He does not believe that the working-class linguistic code inhibits conceptual development. He suggests that the minimal response of working-class parents, and their restricted code, caused their children to develop elaborate questioning procedures, whereas middle-class children tended to adapt the thought structures of their parents. Consequently, Wootton suggests that working-class children develop perhaps a more independent and imaginative "coding" than do middle-class children, and one that is at least as sophisticated. The fact that they do so much less well at school indicates less an indelible disadvantage inherited from their parents, than a preference on the part of teachers for the middle class version of thought development. This institutionalised bias within the school may well suppress the beginnings of a personally developed sophistication of thought.

The fact remains, however, that many children - often of high ability - never master an elaborated form of language and so never achieve the ability to express what they have learned, or to develop concepts that are not directly observable further. When a student's language is restricted, he may not be able to verbalize abstractions, communicate concepts, or clarify his thoughts in discussion with others. In this way he may fall behind in the race for formal qualifications as his natural abilities remain undetected or underdeveloped (Whitcombe, 1973).

The findings of this study, although they cannot be said to provide proof, suggest support for some of Bernstein's theories. The following points form the basis for this support:

a) The difference in the apparent "effect" that 'reading to pre-schoolers' and 'talking about school work' has on manual and non-manual children;

b) The fact that, although the educational performance of manual children from large families is impaired, it does not seem to matter in the case of non-manual children whether they come from large or small families; and

c) The importance of books in the home. Children from all backgrounds tend to aspire and to achieve higher when their families possess large numbers of books than children from families who possess few or no books.

If it is true that parental interest and support is vitally important for the scholastic success of children, why does it not have the same effect on manual as on non-manual pupils?

If it is true that the time given by parents to talking with young babies and children is crucial for language development, which in its turn is crucial for future educational achievement, why should only manual children from large families suffer from having parents who,because there are so many children in the family, have not sufficient time to talk extensively with their children?

These variables cannot, if they have class-differentiated effects, be truly independent. There must be an intervening variable. This intervening variable may well have something to do with literate behaviour - the importance of books - and a difference in the quality of the parent-child interaction.

The greater "success" that non-manual parental involvement or time spent by parents with their children appears to have, suggests that non-manual parental interest may be coated with some kind of "veneer" that many manual parents seem to lack. This veneer may well be a language form that is closely related or similar to Bernstein's elaborated code.

Although, of course, this elaborated code may not exist in all non-manual homes, many non-manual children tend to be brought up by relatively well educated or highly educated parents whose own learned linguistic codes equip their children to develop the language forms which allow for the development, elaboration, and expression of the abstract concept that formal education systems, and the teachers within these systems (the majority of whom are middle-class) value and reward. Although an elaborated code may well exist within some manual homes, few manual parents have enjoyed the kind of education that fosters such a code.

Children born into families which do not use an elaborated code, and who are brought up with a restricted code are confronted at school with an almost "new" language, one that is considered to be the only "appropriate" one. It is not surprising that, lacking this tool, they start lagging behind within formal education systems.

Possibly the most immediate outcome, or most measurable aspect of an elaborated code is an overt literacy: extensive book reading. A number of manual homes where parents did not have high educational qualifications were found to possess a large number of books. This suggests either than an elaborated code can develop without the benefit of a long and formal education, or that a restricted code does not exclude the development of literate behaviour. The fact that it occurs far more rarely in manual than in non-manual homes, however,indicates that the absence of an elaborated code may be a severe handicap in the development of literate behaviour.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR POLICIES AIMED AT THE REDUCTION OF INEQUALITY

Before policies that could lead to the reduction of inequality of educational opportunity are suggested, three questions need to be answered:

1. Do educational qualifications matter?

2. Will schools ever be able to reduce inequality?

3. Is it necessary and/or desirable that children from different social classes or sub-cultures end up with similar aspirations and an equal share of educational qualifications?

1. Do educational qualifications matter?

There are fewer overt class-distinctions in New Zealand than in other western countries. At least until fairly recently, the income structure has had a relatively small "span", that is to say, a relatively small distance between the highest and the lowest incomes. (Vellekoop, 1969, p.236). In the seventies, however, there appears to be a tendency for this gap to be widening. Brian Easton (1976) calculates that perhaps as many as one quarter of all New Zealand families with children may be living in relative poverty. On the other hand, the average salary of doctors and lawyers has climbed above the $30,000 mark.

Although skilled tradesmen are likely to earn more than people in low-grade clerical positions, Vellekoop (1969) found that, in general, there was a clear-cut line of demarcation between manual and non-manual workers which showed persistent differences in prestige and income.

In New Zealand, as in other western societies, high educational qualifications and high social status are closely associated. The 1971 census showed that 33.7 per cent of male and 11.2 per cent of female professional and technical workers held University qualifications. In the largest occupational group, however, that of production and related workers, transport operators and labourers, only 0.3 per cent of males and 0.2 per cent of females had similar credentials. (Social Trends in New Zealand, 1977, pp.166/7).

High educational credentials, of course, are not an absolute prerequisite for high non-manual status. Of the Administrative and Managerial workers 34.3 per cent have secondary school qualifications and 32.5 per cent have vocational qualifications, but only 8.6 hold University degrees or diplomas. (Ibid.)

Jencks (1972), in fact, attributes a great deal of men's occupational success to luck, and on the job competence, rather than to education. He noted that in the United States a significant fraction of thse who went to the University do quite poorly in economic terms, and that at the other end of the scale, many of those who had only primary school training were earning more than the national average.

Blau and Duncan (197) say that in the United States educational attainment accounts for only about 35 per cent of the variation in occupational status. A man's training and early experience, they argue,exert a more pronounced influence on his chance of occupational success than his social origins, but social origin and educational attainment are still closely related (p. 402).

Nevertheless, although education may play a more limited role than is sometimes assumed in determining a man's adult position, educational attainment is by far the most measurable determinant of occupational status (Jencks, 1968, p. 282).

2. Can schools eliminate equality?

Even the most dedicated educational reformers are not that optimistic. There are some who believe that schools can never be effective instruments in the elimination of inequality. The only way to eliminate educational inequality, they argue, is to abolish schools - by "deschooling" society (Illich, 1971; Reimer, 1973), or by eliminating social and economic inequalities through a massive redistribution of incomes and resources (Jencks, 1972).

To Illich, the school is the single source of the fundamental ills of society. Schools, for him, are the instruments of socialization into the existing social system, for the perpetuation of a hierarchy based on certified knowledge, for the preservation of an unjust society: a mechanistic, institutionalized and dehumanized society. He believes that "a desirable future depends on our deliberately ... engendering a life style which will enable us to be spontaneous, independent". (Illich, 1971, p.52).

He dismisses all reforms of education systems as merely serving to adjust, and thus preserve, the existing structure of power and privilege. The liberated future and social equality can only come about if schools are abolished and laws made "forbidding discrimination in hiring, voting and admission to centres of learning based on previous attendance at some curriculum." (p. 10). Instead of schools, he argues, we should have an entirely voluntary system of "learning webs", where every individual could learn what he liked and with whom he liked. The main elements of this alternative learning system are:

1. Reference Services to Educational Objects: things or processes used for formal learning stored in libraries, rental agencies, laboratories, museums and theatres; or used in factories, farms, airports, etc., available to students in off-hours.

2. Skill Exchanges and Directories listing the skills of persons willing to transmit these skills to others, their addresses, and the conditions under which they are willing to be of use to others who wish to learn these skills.

3. Peer-Matching: a communications network permitting persons to describe the learning activity they wish to engage in, and to find partners in learning. (Illich, 1971).

For Illich, the school is the primary target for revolution. He dismisses those who focus on government or business as the key instruments of exploitation and the principal obstacles to political change.

However attractive many of Illich's ideas are, and however accurate his negative assessment of many aspects of the educational process (see also Holt, 1965, Silberman, 1970), his claim that institutional revolution is more central than political or economic revolution must be rejected. Schools cannot be seen as the cause of the existing order, but rather as its agencies.

A system of learning networks, of "deschooled" resources preceding a political and economic revolution would merely become an additional tool in the hands of those already privileged. The available resources and knowledge - in principle open to all - would in practice still benefit members

of the middle and upper strata of society most, simply because it is they who would have the initial skills necessary for locating the resources, and for knowing how to make use of them. A lack of these initial skills, and the absence of centres where these skills would be compulsorily learned, would probably widen the distance between the knowledgeable and the knowledge-less even more than do existing institutionalized education systems. It would take a great deal more time and effort to locate the teachers, resources and educational objects, if they were scattered throughout society, rather than in prescribed places. It would be the middle and upper-class members who would be able to spare the time and the effort, and the possible cost involved in locating services, and in travelling to them, rather than the working class members. Only if a political and economic revolution radically altering the distribution of labour, power, and income, preceded the de-institutionalization of society could the process of "de-schooling" society lead to equality.

Though dismissing Illich's central thesis, his images of educational change must be taken seriously. School reformers must seriously consider including his ideas of learning webs, tools, materials, and of resource people accessible to everyone, within the formal education system. They must also provide a greater choice in what is to be learned, with whom, and when. Many educationalists are, indeed, incorporating Illich's images in their suggestions for reform. Documents such as Organisation and Administration of Education (1974), Improving Learning and Teaching (1974), Improving Learning and Teaching (1974), and Directions for Educational Development (1974) show that many of Illich's "radical" ideas already form part of official or semi-official educational theory. Only a few isolated attempts, however, have been made to create the administrative and institutionalized structure necessary for the realisation of these ideas.

Jencks (1972) also does not believe that educational qualifications are the key to economic success. Economic success, according to him, seems instead to depend on "luck" and on-the-job competence, both of which are only moderately related to family background, schooling, or IQ scores. Thus Jencks does not believe that economic and social inequality are inherited. He found nearly as much economic inequality among brothers raised in the same homes as in the general population. Therefore, Jencks concludes, education alone cannot equalize opportunity and, even if it could, it would not eliminate economic inequality. The only measure that could bring about social equality, according to Jencks, is economic equality.

Therefore, instead of trying to make everybody equally lucky, equally good at his or her job, or equally knowledgeable - an impossible feat - we will have to change the reward system and the rules of the game society plays. If we want equality we must devise systems which neutralize the effects of luck and incompetence by income sharing and redistributive policies which break the link between vocational success and living standards.

While Jencks' conclusions are importance in counter-balancing the belief in the absolute or determinant influence of social background, and in disproving the belief that each person of ability will find an occupation and status commensurate with his/her merit, Jencks' emphasis on "luck" as the major factor may well be, as Bell (1972, p.47) says, a function of his inability to find a consistent set of relationships. In his analysis "luck" is really only a residual factor which is inserted because all other variables do not correlate highly. Besides, "luck" is very hard to measure as a positive variable. (Bell, 1972, p.47).

Boudon (1974) also believes that the key to equal educational opportunity probably lies outside rather than inside schools. He accepts that many of the class differences in school achievement are a function of social background, and that school reforms can reduce differential achievement due to cultural differences - a process which he calls the "primary" effects of stratification. However, he also believes that inequality is probably much more attributable to the different systems of expectations generated by different social backgrounds - namely the "secondary effects of stratification - than to the different cultural backgrounds that are due to the same source. According to Boudon, stratification determines people's "decision parameters" as far as education is concerned. Decisions whether to participate and succeed in the education system are determined by the costs and benefits - both economic and social - people in different social positions expect from educational participation. He believes that -

> a policy of economic and social equality might contribute toward reducing the effects of stratification. Even if economic inequality is but one dimension of social stratification (the other dimensions being prestige, power etc.) it is correlated with most of the others.(Boudon,1974, p.114).

Jencks and Boudon may well be right. Educational reforms, however, are more likely in the near future than a sweeping redistribution of society's economic resources. While we wait for the latter, we may as well try to improve the education system we

have to live and work with. If, within the existing system, educational credentials count, and these credentials are unequally distributed, then we must aim at a more equal distribution of educational credentials.

3. Different social origins - Different aspirations?

Is it the function of schools to imbue all children, no matter what their social origin, with "middle class" values, or to strengthen the positive aspects of their own unique cultures - if their cultures are indeed separate and unique?

The answer to the question is fairly simple, and best put by Miriam Goldberg:

> The issue is not whether to imbue (all)children with middle-class values or to strengthen the positive aspects of their own unique cultural forms. The issue is, rather, to provide (all) children with the skills and knowledges which will enable them to select their future direction rather than be hemmed in by the increasingly limited sphere of operations left to those who lack these skills. (Goldberg, 1967, p.51).

UNEQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES, AND UNEQUAL TREATMENT IN SCHOOLS

Although the issue of justice is at the core of the debate about equal educational opportunity, policies aimed at bringing about equality should probably be focused on the issue of injustice, rather than justice. This is mainly because

> It is immensely difficult to formulate a principle of justice sufficiently general to cover the varying forms of equal opportunity and at the same time sufficiently detailed to provide any guidance. It is much easier to gain some general agreement on what constitutes injustice. The sense of injustice can be aroused even when there is no agreement on the principles of justice. (Green, 1971, p.25).

The issue of justice is most immediately related with the traditional concept of equal educational opportunity, the concept which considers that equality resides in the provision of equal resource inputs into education systems. In this respect justice has, to a significant degree, been done in New Zealand. Common schools with common curricula and facilities are provided by the State on equal conditions. In practice, however, the very equality of the provisions results in injustice.

Because "extras" are not provided by the State, both the physical and the learning environments of schools differ from district to district. Special equipment for teaching purposes such as film cameras and projectors, art objects, heated swimming pools, etc., generally depend on the amount of money parents are willing and able to contribute. More importantly even, the number of books in school libraries greatly depend on voluntary contributions from parents. At the same time, schools with better facilities will attract better teachers.

In fact, for the sake of justice, and in order to eliminate observed injustices, the State would need to dispense with the principle of an equal distribution of funds, and instead distribute funds according to need.

When we consider that equal educational opportunity resides in equal effects and focus on the outputs of education systems, the issue of injustice becomes dominant. A focus on outputs rests on two assumptions:

1. It must be assumed that, though society may be stratified according to race, class, income, or sex, ability is not. In other words, ability is randomly or nearly randomly distributed in the population with respect to those variables. (Green, 1971, p.28).

2. Schools can be made to be effective instruments in the reduction of unequal educational opportunity, and in overcoming the influence of home environment.

Three further points need to be made:

a. Equal opportunity in the benefit sense is compatible with unequal treatment and unequal access to resources.

b. A more equal distribution of educational benefits does not mean that everyone must reach the same level of achievement, but that the range of achievement and the distribution within that range should be more or less equal for each social group. (Green, 1971, p.28).

c. So long as substantial economic inequalities exist, it is unlikely that schools will ever be able to be wholly effective instruments in the attainment of truly equal opportunity. Even if schools became so effective that achievement would show no relationship to social background, the probability of children from

poor families going to university would most likely remain lower than that of well-to-do children. (Boudon, 1974,p.187). The anticipated costs associated with a long education will remain greater the lower the social status of a family, while the expected benefits also remain lower. The assumption that schools can become effective instruments in the reduction of inequality is thus more realistic than the assumption that schools can become effective in the elimination of inequality.

Schools as Effective Instruments

Schools will need to change if they are to overcome the present influence of the home environment. A new model of education will need to be supported, one that is based on the belief that institutions must adjust to people, rather than the other way around. (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968,p.228).

The new model asks for change in the following areas:

- credentials and curricula
- teacher-student relationships
- the professional image of the teaching profession
- the population of schools

Credentials and Curricula

The curricula of schools are based on the assumption that knowledge consists of a measurable reservoir of facts, and that facts are permanent. Yet,

1. the body of knowledge is growing so rapidly that it is inconceivable that anyone could encompass more than a small fraction of it, and

2. much of that knowledge is already obsolete. Quite frequently new knowledge becomes outdated even before it has been fully absorbed or disseminated.

Curricula need to change from a focus on facts to a focus on process - the process of learning. Students need to be taught how to make use of, and how to locate reservoirs of knowledge, rather than be fed delineated areas of knowledge; how to gain access to facts and adjust skills, rather than memorize facts and specific aspects of skills only. Being taught how to use language in order to elaborate concepts and thought processes is more important than the accurate rendition of stretches of poetry. In a computer age, learning for which purposes quadratic equations are used or how to

programme computers or calculators for these equations is more important than knowing exactly how to factor quadratic equations.

It is doubtful that examinations such as exist today, which are based on the mastery of factual content will remain pertinent when curricula focusing on process rather than facts are developed. The mere abolition of external examinations will not, however, reduce class inequalities in itself. Even if educational achievement and occupational potential are no longer measured by credentials such as School Certificate and University Entrance, there will still be competencies and abilities that will be highly valued and correspondingly rewarded. Therefore, if new tools are developed in order to help pupils acquire these competencies and abilities, they must be such that they can be handled by all groups in society with equal effectiveness. In this context language is of paramount importance.

The kind of knowledge that is rewarded in education systems today rests on linguistic skills. But even if curricula in which other intellectual processes are emphasized are developed, linguistic skills will remain essential prerequisites. If the principal tools which help the acquisition of process-learning and skill adaptability are intellectual qualities which rely on the ability to abstract from the particular to the general - in other words, on concept-elaborating abilities - these tools will still be forged out of the material of language.

Whether - as Wootton (1974) claims - the conceptual abilities of working-class children brought up with a restricted code are as sophisticated as those of middle-class children or not, the fact remains that at present, and in the foreseeable future, the middle-class kind of sophistication will probably remain the most highly rewarded. It may remain a fact that only a certain kind of linguistic ability will enable a person to deal with abstractions, to communicate concepts, or to clarify thoughts in discussion with others.

Therefore, even if the curricula and aims of schools were changed, middle-class children would still have an advantage over working-class children brought up in a restricted code, unless language teaching methods are developed which are so instrumental that they result in the equally effective use of language for both working-class and middle-class children. Until, or unless such methods are developed, however, the linguistic disadvantages of working-class children need to be overcome. This cannot be done if all pupils are treated equally.

It can only be done if those who are disadvantaged receive unequal treatment. This implies separating those who lack certain linguistic skills from those who already possess them. It implies intensive and extensive training in the uses and functions of language for children lacking an elaborated code, and the provision of extra personnel and resources.

Although language development should be given primacy throughout the educational process by all teachers - not only teachers of English - the optimum time for special language training, within the formal education system, is probably the primary school years, if not the pre-school years. However, although there is extensive evidence to show that the first years of life are crucial for the intellectual development of children, and that early language training is essential, "it would be foolhardy indeed to write off the post-seven-years-of-age educational experience as having little influence." (Bernstein, 1971,p. 217).

A concentrated and all-out effort at elaborating language forms for linguistically "disadvantaged" children will not mean that the particular kinds of language spoken by such children are rejected as inferior; it will mean that they will be taught to extend the use and the function of their own languages, or that they will be taught an additional linguistic form which will allow them to develop their conceptual abilities. Indeed, Bernstein insists on working with what children have to offer, and realising that the social experience children already possess is valid and significant. It is also necessary to make sure that their social experience is reflected back to them as valid and significant in the teaching process (p.225).

Closer to home, Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1963) insisted that the movement in the children's learning was "from the inside outwards." She said that teachers should "release the native imagery of our child and use it for teaching material."(pp.92-104).

Unequal treatment of linguistically disadvantaged children cannot take place in the traditional one-teacher-to-one-class situation, if it is not to become a stigmatizing experience for those singled out.

Teacher-Student Relationships

The concept of team-teaching will have to replace the present single teacher system.

An experiment in team-teaching described by John Vaizey (1967, p.201) is reported as having made a marked impact on the pupils involved in it. In this experiment

> the whole resources of the school are grouped into teams under the leadership of a master-teacher. The master-teacher, in combination with his colleagues, arranges the teaching of a whole group of pupils. Some of the time they are taken in large groups, some of the time individually or in very small groups. Each team consists of teachers or different abilities and of students undertaking their apprenticeship in the team. (Vaizey, 1967, p.201).

In this type of teaching differential treatment is the rule rather than the exception. All children are sometimes taught in groups, sometimes on an individual basis. A team-teaching system would thus be especially suited to teaching procedures which focused on the unequal treatment of linguistically disadvantaged children, as the singling out of such children would not become conspicuous.

The Professional Image and Sphere of Teachers

A system of team-teaching not only needs new teacher-training techniques, it probably also requires a larger body of teaching personnel. The demand for more teachers could be overcome, however, if para-professionals in the form of interested parents and other members of the community were allowed into the schools, and if their contributions were acknowledged as valid teaching procedures. This would require a certain degree of de-professionalization of the teaching profession which at present many teachers are not yet ready to allow. The acceptance of para-professionals, however, would not only lighten the work load of teachers, it would also increase the extent of parent and community involvement in education, which has been found to be advantageous for the educational development of children.

Yet, although it would certainly draw in more parents, the number of parents actively involved would still be relatively small. Other activities would have to be organised on a regular basis for a wider parent-involvement. Procedures and organizational activities aimed at bridging the distance between home and the school should not become an additional burden to teachers, although they should, of course, be involved in them. The administrative work load, however, could be given to non-teaching personnel.

Population of Schools

An important prerequisite for a change in the attitudes and philosophies underlying the education system is to change the idea that this system is aimed at people of a certain age only. The concept of "life long" education is essential to the concept of educational opportunity.

Jencks, for example, proposes to put educational "entitlements" or tuition grants into the hands of parents and students, to spend in the schools of their choice (see Illich, 1971,p.16). This policy may be more valid for American school children than for their New Zealand counterparts, as the contrasts between different state schools in New Zealand are probably far less extreme than between some American schools. However, a scheme of educational entitlements for all who have left school, which would give them recurrent access to education in the form and at the time best suited to their needs - as recommended in Directions for Educational Development (1974, pp.24/5) - should be given high priority.

If there is a likelihood that parental literacy is a crucial determinant of a child's aspirations and achievement, then measures to equalize parental education and parental literacy may result in a reduction of disparities in educational performance. Programmes of this kind are familiar in less developed countries, but have not been regarded as necessary in industrial societies.

The problems, however, of instituting programmes designed to equalize adult literate behaviour would be immense. For one thing, the opportunities created would probably be used chiefly by middle-class persons, as has been the case with most adult education programmes in New Zealand, and one would be faced again with the dilemma of equal treatment versus unequal need. Nevertheless this is an untouched area of social policy, which deserves serious consideration by researchers and policy-makers.

SUMMING UP

The present system of education does little to overcome the handicaps with which individuals from lower socio-economic strata enter educational institutions. The intellectual and linguistic environment of the families into which individuals are born exert a greater influence on their educational achievement than the schools they go to. Equality of access to the resources of education, and equal treatment in equal schools do not result in equal educational opportunity measured by results.

One measure with the potential of bringing about equality of educational opportunity, or at least a reduction of inequality, is the unequal treatment of children within educational institutions. Although the preferential treatment of "disadvantaged" children does not comply with principles of justice which insist on equality of treatment, it would be a permissible measure in that it would ameliorate non-permissible injustices in the distribution of educational benefits.

The overt separation of disadvantaged groups of children for purposes of intensive language training programmes aimed at equating their linguistic and conceptual abilities with those of more advantaged children would probably result, however, in the stigma of inferiority being attached to such groups, and in increasing the social distance as well as the achievement gap between children from different social strata.

Unequal treatment does, however, appear to be necessary if culturally disadvantaged children are to develop the linguistic skills needed for educational achievement. The only way in which such unequal treatment can be made wholly permissible, and be made to comply with principles of justice as well as injustice, is by significantly altering the education system through changes in teaching techniques, curricula content, as well as the personnel and population of schools, into a system in which education becomes a community concern, and one in which every person has the right to be treated in accordance with his or her needs, that is, unequally.

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